

'We can only preserve the peace if we are so strong no nation will dare raise a Reagan's tough talk on foreign policy

By David Hoffman
Knight News Service

Picking a page out of the history books, Ronald Reagan recently offered a revealing glimpse of the course he would chart for U.S. foreign policy.

At a Republican fund-raising dinner in Indiana, he recalled how in the late 1950s "the two little islands of Quemoy and Matsu were being shelled by the mainland Chinese in their aggression against those who fled to Taiwan."

"Suddenly," Reagan told his audience, "the editorials in America were saying, 'Oh, we had a mutual defense treaty with Taiwan, but these two little islands off the coast of China, they're not worth a war. Why, this would be the wrong war at the wrong place at the wrong time.'"

Just when it seemed the mainland Chinese might try to take the islands, "a very calm voice from the White House spoke one sentence," Reagan remembers. "It said: 'They'll have to climb over the 7th Fleet to do it.'"

"There wasn't a war," Reagan recalls, "and they didn't take Quemoy and Matsu."

The voice from the White House was that of President Eisenhower, but it is being echoed in 1980 by the voice of Ronald Reagan. Perhaps more than anything else, the incident symbolizes how he would conduct foreign policy if won the White House this fall.

Our nation is the only nation on

Earth that can preserve the peace," Reagan says, "and we can only do it if we are so strong that no nation will dare raise a hand against us."

Against the backdrop of the seizure of 50 U.S. hostages in Tehran and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Reagan's get-tough attitude has seemed perfectly in step with the public mood in 1980 that the United States has been pushed around long enough.

But for Reagan it goes much deeper than that. His world view is cast in images of the Cold War and rooted in the belief that the United States is locked in a historic struggle against communism and the Soviet Union.

Reagan's standard campaign speech this year includes a phrase borrowed from another president he once admired, Franklin D. Roosevelt. "I believe we must be the great arsenal of democracy," Reagan says in calling for a massive U.S. military buildup to counter the Soviets.

Yet, now that he stands on the brink of the Republican nomination, Reagan also is mindful of the lessons of Sen. Barry Goldwater's ill-fated candidacy of 1964, when President Johnson prevailed as the "peace" candidate.

This year, Reagan has striven to put forward a foreign policy that is anti-Soviet without sounding too strident or warlike. While he believes that a U.S. president must not hesitate to use military force, he has sought to convince

voters that he would not be reckless once in control of that power.

"It's time to rebuild our defense capability, not because we're warlike, or because we want to (get) ourselves into a war," Reagan told a campaign rally in Flint, Mich., last week. "Our goal is peace, world peace."

Later, campaigning at the University of Oregon in Eugene, Reagan said he believes that a massive U.S. arms buildup "can be done without conflict" with the Soviet Union. And when a student asked about the prospect that he would "press the button" and launch a nuclear war, Reagan replied: "I would tell the Soviet Union I would sit down with them at a table for as long as it took to legitimately negotiate a reduction in nuclear weapons to the point that neither one of us represented a threat to the other."

Reagan's advisers are aware of the perception that he would be likely to lead the United States into armed conflict. They know this is one of the biggest foreign policy hurdles facing the former governor as he prepares to square off with President Carter.

Richard Allen, Reagan's senior policy adviser on foreign affairs and once a member of the National Security Council's staff in the Nixon White House, says Reagan will campaign this fall as "a man of prudence who criticizes reckless acts that may provoke war with the Soviets."

Jim Brady, director of public affairs and research for the Reagan campaign, says of Reagan: "A hawk is less likely to do something precipitous, as opposed to a dove. Carter is showing that now."

At the same time, Allen said, Reagan would follow Eisenhower's style of projecting U.S. strength around the world. "The closest you can come is Ike," he added.

Allen suggested that Reagan would view as legitimate the use of U.S. military forces for a "strategic, limited objective" as was done in 1958 in Lebanon, in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis and in the 1965 Dominican Republic crisis.

"Then you come to Vietnam," Allen said. "He (Reagan) would have rejected the strategy in Vietnam. He would have delivered the requisite amount of force to solve the problem early. There was a time when it was possible to win the war in Vietnam (through the application of military force)."

"I've seen four wars in my lifetime," Reagan often says. "And not one of them happened because America was too strong."

Already, a foreign policy brain trust is taking shape around Reagan in anticipation of a possible victory in November. Reagan is relying on 83 generally hawkish foreign policy and defense experts that Allen has assembled. Many are former government officials.



How Reagan would handle foreign affairs if he were

Knight News Service

Based on Ronald Reagan's statements and interviews with his advisers, here is how a Reagan administration would view key issues of foreign affairs:

U.S. Soviet relations

Reagan believes the relaxation in U.S.-Soviet relations during the 1970s was flawed because it involved one-sided concessions to the Soviets in arms control, trade and the sale of U.S. technology for the Soviet war machine.

Before approaching any detente, Reagan says, he would demand that the Soviets "refrain from their aggressive acts," such as the invasion of Afghanistan and encouraging Third World revolutions.

But Reagan holds out little hope for improvement in superpower relations. He believes it has been the historic and continuing ambition of Kremlin leaders to establish a "one-world communist state" that must be challenged at every opportunity.

Reagan has said that ultimately the Soviets, instead of attacking the United States, would rather just deliver an ultimatum that couldn't be resisted because of their superior military strength. "They want to take us by telephone," he says.

During this campaign, Reagan has in almost every speech mocked Carter's 1977 declaration that "we are now free of the inordinate fear of communism which led us to embrace every dictator who shared that fear."

Reagan says the United States

should stand behind allies that are bulwarks against Soviet expansionism, regardless of whether they are ruled by dictators. Thus, he defended the deposed Shah of Iran.

"We find violations of human rights in nations we know are friendly and allied to us, and we turn against them," he said recently, "but at the same time we try and cozy up to the one country in the world where there are no human rights at all — the Soviet Union."

Military buildup

Reagan says the Soviets have surpassed the United States "in almost every category of military strength." He would embark on a massive U.S. arms buildup and would spend "whatever is necessary."

Reagan has talked of modernizing defenses against nuclear attack. While he hasn't specified which weapons he would want to build, Reagan has criticized Carter for canceling the B-1 bomber and for "delaying or postponing the Cruise missile, the MX missile and the Trident submarine."

Reagan has called for a crash program to develop a new offensive or defensive weapon to counter any Soviet military edge, and he has suggested that the neutron warhead, which Carter canceled, might be the answer. Reagan also favors more spending for conventional hardware and for development of new weapons.

Arms control

Reagan believes that arms control talks with the Soviets can only begin after a U.S. military buildup. He be-

lieves SALT II was flawed because it allowed the Soviets to continue their rapid investment in strategic arms while unduly limiting the United States. "Once we clearly demonstrate to the Soviet leadership that we are determined to compete (in the arms race), arms control negotiations will again have a chance," Reagan told the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations in March.

"I have always felt we should be willing to sit down at a table, provided they understand that the talk is to be of legitimate arms reduction," he says. "At the first sign it wasn't going to be, I think it would be time to push back your chair and get up and go home."

Nuclear control

Reagan wouldn't try to make nuclear non-proliferation a foundation of his foreign policy, as Carter did. He has said other nations should be permitted to move forward with nuclear facilities even if they produce nuclear materials from which weapons could be made.

At St. Mary's College in Indiana April 22, Reagan suggested that the spread of nuclear weapons is "out of our hands. It's like someone said, the horse is out of the barn. And we can oppose, we can do all we want, but we don't rule the world and there's no way we can prevent them from doing that."

The draft

Reagan has opposed a peacetime draft or draft registration because he

says it will take too long and cost too much. Instead, Reagan proposes creating a million-man reserve and higher pay for the military to keep the all-volunteer Army working.

The Mideast

Long a supporter of Israel, Reagan maintains the U.S.-Israeli alliance serves "the benefit of both countries." He views Israel as "a stable democracy sharing our own values" and a "vital strategic asset... a deterrent" to Soviet Mideast expansion.

Reagan believes the question of Palestinian autonomy must be worked out by Israel and Jordan, and the United States "must not attempt to impose our solution" to Mideast problems.

Reagan described the Carter administration's mistaken vote on the Palestinian resolution in the United Nations as "incredible and scandalous."

Persian Gulf

A staunch defender of the deposed Shah of Iran, Reagan thinks the United States should have been more supportive in preventing his overthrow. When the U.S. Embassy hostages were seized, Reagan says, he would have moved to rescue them within days if diplomacy failed.

Although he has said it would be a "tragedy" if the Soviets moved in on Iran, Reagan has suggested there is little the United States can do about it. Instead, Reagan says, the United States should draw the line by working to protect the Saudi Arabian monarchy from a similar fate.

Afghanistan

Reagan faults Carter for not issuing a strong enough warning to Moscow when Soviet troops were massing on the Afghan border and for not taking firm action when the invasion started.

Reagan has called for a blockade of Cuba as one way to protest the invasion. The Olympic boycott sought by Carter has troubled Reagan. He agrees that the games should not be held in Moscow, but, as president, he said, he would not forbid U.S. athletes to attend because it would set a bad precedent.

China and Taiwan

Reagan remains a strong supporter of Taiwan and says he would give official status to the American institute in Taiwan, which was set up after the United States broke diplomatic relations with Taiwan and recognized China in 1978.

"I believe there is merit in having a better relationship with the mainland Chinese," he said. "I just felt we never had to dump Taiwan as we did."

Asked whether he would support a two-China policy that recognized both nations, Reagan said it would be "very worth exploring but you may find that the Taiwanese would not accept it."

Cuba

Long a critic of Fidel Castro, Reagan would probably seek to put new pressures on the Cuban dictator. He accuses Carter of "meekly accepting" the combat brigade of Soviet troops in Cuba, and he worries that Cubans are helping to train Marxist guerrillas else-

Iran would handle foreign affairs if he were president

should stand behind allies that are bulwarks against Soviet expansionism, regardless of whether they are ruled by dictators. Thus, he defended the deposed Shah of Iran.

"We find violations of human rights in nations we know are friendly and allied to us, and we turn against them," he said recently, "but at the same time we try and cozy up to the one country in the world where there are no human rights at all — the Soviet Union."

Military buildup

Reagan says the Soviets have surpassed the United States "in almost every category of military strength." He would embark on a massive U.S. arms buildup and would spend "whatever is necessary."

Reagan has talked of modernizing defenses against nuclear attack. While he hasn't specified which weapons he would want to build, Reagan has criticized Carter for canceling the B-1 bomber and for "delaying or postponing the Cruise missile, the MX missile and the Trident submarine."

Reagan has called for a crash program to develop a new offensive or defensive weapon to counter any Soviet military edge, and he has suggested that the neutron warhead, which Carter canceled, might be the answer. Reagan also favors more spending for conventional hardware and for development of new weapons.

Arms control

Reagan believes that arms control talks with the Soviets can only begin after a U.S. military buildup. He be-

lieves SALT II was flawed because it allowed the Soviets to continue their rapid investment in strategic arms while unduly limiting the United States. "Once we clearly demonstrate to the Soviet leadership that we are determined to compete (in the arms race), arms control negotiations will again have a chance," Reagan told the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations in March.

"I have always felt we should be willing to sit down at a table, provided they understand that the talk is to be of legitimate arms reduction," he says. "At the first sign it wasn't going to be, I think it would be time to push back your chair and get up and go home."

Nuclear control

Reagan wouldn't try to make nuclear non-proliferation a foundation of his foreign policy, as Carter did. He has said other nations should be permitted to move forward with nuclear facilities even if they produce nuclear materials from which weapons could be made.

At St. Mary's College in Indiana April 22, Reagan suggested that the spread of nuclear weapons is "out of our hands. It's like someone said, the horse is out of the barn. And we can oppose, we can do all we want, but we don't rule the world and there's no way we can prevent them from doing that."

The draft

Reagan has opposed a peacetime draft or draft registration because he

says it will take too long and cost too much. Instead, Reagan proposes creating a million-man reserve and higher pay for the military to keep the all-volunteer Army working.

The Mideast

Long a supporter of Israel, Reagan maintains the U.S.-Israeli alliance serves "the benefit of both countries." He views Israel as "a stable democracy sharing our own values" and a "vital strategic asset... a deterrent" to Soviet Mideast expansion.

Reagan believes the question of Palestinian autonomy must be worked out by Israel and Jordan, and the United States "must not attempt to impose our solution" to Mideast problems.

Reagan described the Carter administration's mistaken vote on the Palestinian resolution in the United Nations as "incredible and scandalous."

Persian Gulf

A staunch defender of the deposed Shah of Iran, Reagan thinks the United States should have been more supportive in preventing his overthrow. When the U.S. Embassy hostages were seized, Reagan says, he would have moved to rescue them within days if diplomacy failed.

Although he has said it would be a "tragedy" if the Soviets moved in on Iran, Reagan has suggested there is little the United States can do about it. Instead, Reagan says, the United States should draw the line by working to protect the Saudi Arabian monarchy from a similar fate.

Afghanistan

Reagan faults Carter for not issuing a strong enough warning to Moscow when Soviet troops were massing on the Afghan border and for not taking firm action when the invasion started.

Reagan has called for a blockade of Cuba as one way to protest the invasion. The Olympic boycott sought by Carter has troubled Reagan. He agrees that the games should not be held in Moscow, but, as president, he said, he would not forbid U.S. athletes to attend because it would set a bad precedent.

China and Taiwan

Reagan remains a strong supporter of Taiwan and says he would give official status to the American institute in Taiwan, which was set up after the United States broke diplomatic relations with Taiwan and recognized China in 1978.

"I believe there is merit in having a better relationship with the mainland Chinese," he said. "I just felt we never had to dump Taiwan as we did."

Asked whether he would support a two-China policy that recognized both nations, Reagan said it would be "very worth exploring but you may find that the Taiwanese would not accept it."

Cuba

Long a critic of Fidel Castro, Reagan would probably seek to put new pressures on the Cuban dictator. He accuses Carter of "meekly accepting" the combat brigade of Soviet troops in Cuba, and he worries that Cubans are helping to train Marxist guerrillas else-

where in Latin America.

Reagan has called for an airlift to help Cuban refugees fleeing Castro's regime. He has said they should all be welcomed into the United States but some eventually could be resettled in Latin nations.

North American accord

In his announcement address last November, Reagan called for a "North American Accord" between Canada, Mexico and the United States that would bind the three nations closer together economically and would lead to more cooperation among the three governments. Since then, Reagan has not devoted much attention to filling out the details. He has suggested that the U.S.-Mexican border be gradually opened to a free flow of citizens on both sides.

European allies

Reagan has promised, if elected, to consult more frequently with the NATO allies. He criticized Carter for issuing conflicting signals to the European nations on the Iranian sanctions just before the rescue mission. He also has criticized Carter's turnaround on the neutron warhead that was to be deployed in Western Europe as an example of action creating uncertainty in the minds of U.S. allies.

One lesson that his foreign policy would reflect, Reagan says, is "There will be no more Taiwans, no more Vietnams, no more Iran and no more betrayal of friends of the United States."